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INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	DODE-00	EUR-01	HA-09	H-01
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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1894
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 04068

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, OVIP, PREF, RW
SUBJECT: VISIT OF PRIME MINISTER DISMAS
- NSENGIYAREMYE

REFS: A) KIGALI 4049 B) KIGALI 4031

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. PRIME MINISTER DISMAS NSENGIYAREMYE SUCCEEDED IN
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TWO MAJOR POLITICAL COUPS ON TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29,
BEFORE BOARDING THE EVENING FLIGHT FOR PARIS AND NEW
YORK. HE MET FOR TWO HOURS WITH PRESIDENT
HABYARIMANA AND REPORTEDLY EXORCISED ALL OF THE ILL
FEELING CREATED BY HIS LETTER OF THE PREVIOUS WEEK
(REF B). THEN HE SPENT ABOUT 8 HOURS WITH THE
CABINET HAMMERING OUT A BROAD AGREEMENT ON THE
GOVERNMENT'S STRATEGY FOR ARUSHA III.B (SEPTEL). SO
WHEN HE REACHES WASHINGTON HE SHOULD BE FEELING
PRETTY GOOD ABOUT HIMSELF, ALTHOUGH HE MUST RECOGNIZE
THAT THE BASIC PROBLEMS HAVE NOT BEEN SOLVED, ONLY

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DEFERRED UNTIL A LATER STAGE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. BUT HE IS THE ONE WHO HAS BROUGHT SOME ORDER OUT OF THE POLITICAL CHAOS OF THE PAST TWO WEEKS, AND IS NOW EVEN BETTER SITUATED TO DO IT AGAIN. HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON WILL ALSO ENHANCE HIS STATURE HERE FOR THE NEXT CRISIS.

3. THE PRIME MINISTER WILL BE CARRYING A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA TO PRESIDENT BUSH, EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR AMERICAN EHLP IN THE ARUSHA TALKS, THANKS FOR ECONOMIC AND HUMANITARIAN AID, AND REQUESTING CONTINUING U.S. HELP FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY. THE FOLLOWING ARE SOME THOUGHTS ON THEMES FOR WASHINGTON MEETINGS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER.

OVERALL APPROACH

4. GIVEN THE PERSONALITY AND THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT IN WHICH HE OPERATES, THE MOST USEFUL THING THAT DISMAS CAN RECEIVE IN WASHINGTON IS

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POSITIVE ENCOURAGEMENT. I THINK HE NEEDS TO BE TOLD THAT BOTH RWANDAN POLICY IN GENERAL AND THE PRIME MINISTER IN PARTICULAR ARE ON THE RIGHT TRACK, MOVING IN THE DIRECTION OF PEACE AND DEMOCRACY.

5. BOTH THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PRESIDENT NEED TO SPEND A GREAT DEAL MORE TIME IN DIALOGUE WITH THE LEADERS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES. THIS IS NOT SOMETHING THAT RWANDANS DO EASILY. THUS WHILE FLATTERING THE PRIME MINISTER FOR THE REAL NEGOTIATIONS THAT HAVE BEEN BEGUN IN ARUSHA, WE SHOULD URGE HIM TO KEEP THE PARTIES AND THE PRESIDENT INFORMED OF ALL THE PARTS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND TO INVOLVE AND ENGAGE ALL PARTIES IN THE INTERNAL DIALOGUE ON TACTICS TO CONTINUE THE NEGOTIATIONS. PERHAPS ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN COULD SEND PERSONAL MESSAGES WITH THE PRIME MINISTER FOR THE PRESIDENT AND FOR THE POLITICAL PARTY LEADERS WITH WHOM HE MET IN MAY, ESPECIALLY TWAGIRAMUNGU, MUGENZI, GATABAZI AND NGIRUMPATSE, TO FORCE THE PRIME MINISTER TO COMMUNICATE DIRECTLY WITH THEM ON HIS RETURN.

6. WE CAN ALSO ENCOURAGE DISMAS WITH PRAISE FOR THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF HIS TRANSITION GOVERNMENT TO DATE,

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CONFIRMING HIS OWN CONCLUSION FROM HIS LETTER TO THE
PRESIDENT (SEPTEL). AT THE SAME TIME, I WOULD
RECOMMEND THAT WASHINGTON PICK UP ON THE THEME THAT I
HAVE USED WITH THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE PRESIDENT
IN THE LAST WEEK; THAT THE PHENOMENAL INTERNATIONAL
SUPPORT FOR THE PEACE PROCESS THAT RWANDA IS ENJOYING
NOW WILL NOT LAST FOREVER, AND COULD BREAK DOWN

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RATHER QUICKLY UNLESS THERE IS ADDITIONAL CONTINUING
PROGRESS IN THE TALKS. THUS THEY MUST COME UP WITH
SOME POSITIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS FROM THE NEXT ROUND,
NOT NECESSARILY A PEACE TREATY, BUT SOME STEPS
FORWARD. AT THE SAME TIME, WE SHOULD AVOID SEEMING
TO BE IMPATIENT. THIS PROCESS NEEDS TIME FOR HEALING
THE DEEP WOUNDS IN THE SOCIETY. WE SHOULD ASSURE THE
PRIME MINISTER THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO WORK WITH THEM
(AND THE RPF) PATIENTLY TO BRING REAL PEACE.

SPECIFIC POLITICAL ISSUES

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7. ON THE PEACE TALKS, I RECOMMEND THE DEPARTMENT
CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE POSITION THAT THE BASIC
INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT SHOULD REMAIN BUT THAT
REAL DIVISION OF AUTHORITY AND REAL CHECKS AND
BALANCES SHOULD BE CREATED. THIS MEANS THAT THE
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GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE TO BE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE A
GREATER LIMITATION ON PRESIDENTIAL POWERS, WHICH ALSO
MEANS THE PRESIDENT WILL HAVE TO AGREE, BECAUSE THERE
IS NO OTHER WAY. DISMAS KNOWS THIS, AND HE ALSO
KNOWS HE IS THE ONE WHO HAS TO DELIVER. COHEN'S
ENCOURAGEMENT IN THIS DIRECTION COULD BE HELPFUL.

8. THE PRIME MINISTER WILL PROBABLY RAISE
DEMOBILIZATION QUESTIONS, BUT IT APPEARS THAT HE WILL
BE ASKING THE WORLD BANK TO BE THE FINANCIER FOR THIS
OPERATION. NEVERTHELESS, DEPARTMENT INTERLOCUTORS
SHOULD BE PREPARED TO SHARE WITH THE PRIME MINISTER
WHATEVER EXPERIENCE WE HAVE IN COMPARABLE
DEMOBILIZATION EFFORTS.

ECONOMIC ISSUES

9. ALTHOUGH THE DETAILS ARE NOT CLEAR TO US, THE
PRIME MINISTER WILL BE PRESSING THE WORLD BANK FOR
ADDITIONAL FUNDING FOR BUDGET SUPPORT AND FOR MOVING
FORWARD ON FUNDING ALREADY IN THE PIPELINE IN SPITE
OF THE FACT THAT RWANDA'S BUDGETARY PERFORMANCE HAS
NOT MET THE EXPECTATIONS OF EARLIER NEGOTIATIONS.

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10. IN THE PAST WE HAVE SUPPORTED KEEPING OPEN THE BANK AND FUND PROGRAMS EVEN THOUGH DISBURSEMENTS WERE DELAYED AS A RESULT OF RWANDA'S BUDGET PROBLEMS. WE WILL BE ASKED BY THE GOR TO DO MORE THIS TIME. WE WILL PROBABLY BE ASKED TO URGE THE BANK TO BREAK LOOSE DISBURSEMENTS TO HELP WITH THE BUDGET PROBLEM. THE RWANDAN ASSUMPTION WILL BE THAT WE ARE

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SUFFICIENTLY SATISFIED WITH PROGRESS ON ARUSHA SO THAT WE AND THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS SHOULD CONTINUE TO BAIL OUT THE GOVERNMENT SO IT CAN CONTINUE TO FUNCTION WHILE NEGOTIATING PEACE AND CREATING DEMOCRACY.

11. I RECOMMEND THAT WE GIVE THE PRIME MINISTER A VERY SYMPATHETIC HEARING, AND IF AT ALL POSSIBLE ENCOURAGE ADDITIONAL WORLD BANK FLEXIBILITY DURING THE PERIOD OF THE ARUSHA NEGOTIATIONS. AT THE SAME TIME THE PRIME MINISTER OUGHT TO REALIZE THAT IF THE PROCESS FAILS, A LOT OF CHICKENS ARE GOING TO COME HOME TO ROOST.

FAMILY PLANNING

12. THE PERCENTAGE OF USERS OF FAMILY PLANNING METHODS HAS DECLINED IN THE LAST SIX MONTHS AFTER FIVE YEARS OF CONTINUING DRAMATIC INCREASE. SOME WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT PARTY ALLEGE THAT THIS IS BECAUSE THE SO-CALLED OPPOSITION PARTIES HAVE NOT BEEN GIVING THEIR SUPPORT, OR WORSE, HAVE CONSIDERED FAMILY PLANNING AN MRND INSTITUTION.

13. AID WILL BE RAISING THIS ISSUE WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, AND I SUGGEST THAT STATE ALSO URGE THE PRIME MINISTER NOT TO LET FAMILY PLANNING BECOME A PARTISAN ISSUE OR TO BECOME SOMETHING THAT FALLS BY THE WAYSIDE IN LIGHT OF ALL THE OTHER PROBLEMS. IT IS MY IMPRESSION THAT THERE IS ADEQUATE FUNDING AVAILABLE AND THAT THE PROBLEM IS HUMAN RESOURCES AND

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MOTIVATION RATHER THAN FINANCIAL.

REFUGEES

14. FOR THE PAST SIX MONTHS WE, THE UNHCR, AND THE GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN TALKING ABOUT A PROGRAM OF SENSITIZATION OF RWANDANS FOR THE RETURN OF REFUGEES. WE HAVEN'T GOTTEN VERY FAR. THIS IS ONE OF THE THINGS THAT OUGHT TO BE PLANNED WELL INN ADVANCE AND EVEN BE UNDERWAY AS THE NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE. GRANTED THERE IS STILL A PROBLEM WITH THE

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FURIOUS IN-FIGHTING OVER CONTROL OF RADIO RWANDA AND THE OFFICE OF INFORMATION, AND THAT ISSUE MUST BE SOLVED BEFORE ONE CAN THINK OF A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. BUT IT IS NO EXCUSE FOR NOT PLANNING A SENSITIZATION CAMPAIGN.

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15. I RECOMMEND THAT WE URGE THE PRIME MINISTER TO MAKE THIS A PRIORITY GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY. EVEN IF THE REFUGEES DON'T RETURN FOR A LONG PERIOD OF TIME, THE TYPE OF PROPAGANDA NEEDED TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THEM TO RETURN CAN MAKE A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE WHOLE PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION.

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